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868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl [521] called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

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SOCIAL RELATIONS OF ADULTS

RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

832 152 183 AN IMPORTANT element in the character of courtship and in the nature of premarital relations is a generalized negative set toward the easy display of emotion. The kiss, for instance, is considered too personal and expressive a gesture for adult or public use.

593 152 183 The mother and father kiss the children when they are playing with them and have them on their laps. But those who are grown up a little wouldn't kiss in anyone else's presence. When Chiricahua have not seen each other for a long time, they embrace. If you love someone, you embrace him and you say, "I'm glad to see you again." The women do the same thing, but they love one another so much they often sit down and cry. Maybe the last time they met one had a brother who is now dead, or something like that. A man might embrace his wife when he comes back from a long journey.

834 514 183 There is a feeling of inhibition in regard to intimate matters even between members of the same sex:

A grown person does not like to defecate or urinate before anyone else. If two men or two women are together, one will say, "I am going out." But if polite form of speech is used between these two, nothing will be said. The person just leaves. And a man would not make any explanation to a woman either.

834 291 183 Women do not want to be seen naked by other women any more than do men by men. Adults are reserved in these matters before one another. . . . . When a boy grew to manhood, he would not swim naked any more, not even before other men. The Chiricahua is very much ashamed about this. A grown man considers it a disgrace if another adult sees his privates. When a grown man goes in swimming, he always wears a loincloth or something. I have seen older men in swimming, but never naked.

834 183 [521] Great dignity should be observed in speech:

I don't know the names of all the parts of a woman's genitals. Men don't usually talk about a woman's parts. If I talk like this, someone will say, "You're no man at all!" When X. [an aberrant in respect to sexually pointed speech whose case is considered below] talks, I don't know whether he means something on top or way in.

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606 the same time. Often a man has to duck away or go out the back way before a crowd of people when his mother-in-law comes. They keep it up today and have to be just as careful, although it is sometimes even harder now.

596 606 602 [203] The husband is always conscious of the wishes and attitudes of the affinal relatives he never sees; "the man is ruled by them." Using his wife as messenger, they send him orders and hints of praise or censure. They know as much about his activities as if they shared his household, and he is correspondingly sensitive to their reactions. Said one man: "I know that if I had trouble [593] with my wife, my father-in-law would stick up for her. Your father-in-law tells you to do something, and if you don't do it, you have your wife on your hands, scolding all the time."

606 203 596 A common device of the parents-in-law for communicating directions is to tell their daughter what they want done when they know her husband is within hearing. Once a man with whom I was working paused to tell his daughter that he wanted some rocks, which he considered a hazard to his home, removed. No mention of who should do the work was made. But the implications were clear, and the next day the son-in-law was busy at the task. Soon after, the older man discussed the state of the woodpile in the same impersonal vein, and the following day the son-in-law was chopping wood.

606 203 Much oblique communication passes between avoidance affinities when a situation warrants it:

You can't see your mother-in-law, but that doesn't mean that you don't think a great deal of her. Very likely she's the one you count on most in your wife's family. If you and your wife have trouble, maybe your mother-in-law will stand [593] out of sight and pretend to be talking to the baby or someone else, and she will [586] talk with you and try to settle the trouble you have been having. If she has stood up for you in this way, probably, even if you separate from your wife, you will continue to bring your mother-in-law food and things because you like her.

606 203 • 521 Sometimes the pretense of indirect discourse is dropped and an actual conversation between the two avoidance affinities takes place:

In cases of emergency, or if you have wronged your wife, your mother-in-law may approach near enough to speak to you. She usually comes at night, but if she comes during the day, she must be behind some object so that you cannot see her face.

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Then, too, you may have to go and talk to her about important things. If you are separated from your wife and you trust your mother-in-law, you may get the help of somebody at your mother-in-law's camp to see that she is safely inside so you won't run into her. Then, standing outside, you may talk to her.

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The father-in-law, too, may find it necessary to state his views directly:

I talked to that boy, her husband. I said, "I'm talking to you. This day means something. It shouldn't be wasted. This day means something to everybody. Every day means that you should bring in something to eat. Make it count; work and make something. If you have nothing to eat, your wife cannot cook anything for you. It's not your place to be angry at your wife because you don't have anything to eat. Look at her clothes. Many things rest on you. It's the man's duty to bring in the meat and clothes. You can't expect the woman to do that."

I said, "My daughter, it is your place to keep house. Keep everything neat about your place. Keep yourself neat the way you were when I was raising you. Wear good clothes. Keep your husband's clothes clean. Keep your fire going all the time. Quit running around nights and doing things as though you were single. Don't fuss at each other."

And I said to the boy, "A woman must be treated well because she feeds you; she's the only friend you have. Your mother and father can't treat you better than your wife does. That's the way I feel about my wife." I told him, "She's the mother of the whole thing, this life you have to go through, and you may have a long life."

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When quarrels arise among a man's affinal relatives, it is to his advantage to be as neutral as possible, so that his relatives-in-law, and particularly his wife's parents, will not condemn him for intrusion into their affairs.

Now there's trouble at my place. My wife's stepmother told her that a cousin said something about her. So my wife hasn't gone over to visit that cousin for a long time. The cousin sees me and asks me why, but I make excuses and never say. But then my wife met this cousin and told her the truth. The next day this cousin came over to the stepmother and asked, "Did you tell that woman I said so-and-so?" The stepmother said, "No." So now the cousin says my wife made it all up. I thought it best to let my father-in-law know that I'm not taking sides, that I'm only an in-law here. He says that it's all right, he does not hold it against me. It's the nature of women, and we shouldn't bother about it, he says.

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But it would be superficial to infer that the husband is constantly tyrannized by his avoidance affinities. They would be ill advised, indeed, to drive to divorce a man who is discharging

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525 There is a ceremony for luck in games and gambling, for luck in the hoop-and-
526 pole game, for foot-racing and other games. When a person has a ceremony for
777 any of these, he is usually a "professional." He depends on it to win big stakes.
Ceremonies like these are among the most secret ones, for a man doesn't want
others to know too much about it and spoil his luck. You can get a man to talk
• [521] about anything but this and witching usually.

Ceremonies for luck are mostly in connection with racing, the hoop-and-pole game, stave games, and the moccasin game, for these are the big betting games. Singing or ceremony for luck is not carried on for the ball game or shinny. They aren't betting games but are more for exercise, although, of course, people bet on them too.

526 Foot races in which both men and women participate, constantly occur:

We have races for short distances in which women as well as men run. Some-
[804] times the women beat the men. Somebody paces off the race course. Instead of measuring by yards he uses steps. Two steps are like a yard; each time the right foot comes forward the man counts one. The track is one hundred of these "yards" long.[5]

[805] During the race the runners are timed by counting. Old men sit at the finish line counting as the runners race. Each runner has someone counting for him. I saw two of the best runners race when I was a boy. The old man only counted to eleven, and the winner was over the finish line.

At the start of the race they don't crouch. They stand braced. The man who is starting them might say, "I'm going to count. When I say 'two,' go!" Or two men might walk toward the runners with a string or a stick. When the runner is touched, he starts off. When we are camping in a place where we are going to stay for a time, we would make a track. We clear a path. This is used for horse-racing too. Cross-country foot races take place once in a while also.

541 Horse-racing and the ceremonialism associated with it are discussed by an informant:

Horse races are generally started with a gun or by shouting, "Now!" Some horses would be back of the line facing the other way; some would be on the line

[5] Another unit of measure, "one stick," was described by an informant: "We measure by saying 'one stick.' This is the distance from the middle of the chest to the end of the outstretched middle finger. Both arms outspread equals 'two sticks.' Later these were called yards. A step of the right length was called 'one stick' too. Later 100 steps were considered 100 yards. In buying a yard of cloth now we are really asking for 'the length of one stick.' The actual length of the foot is used as a unit of measure too. To measure height you take a rope or stick and measure the person; then you put it down on the ground and measure off the feet."

[177] Note that at least two attempts have been made to equate aboriginal units of measure with the American "yard."

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526 773 [825] The hoop-and-pole game was handed down from the animals when they were people. They used to play it. The hoop-and-pole game comes from the four-footed animals like the bear [i.e., the dangerous ones] and also from the snake. During the time the snakes were people they made the game. In ceremonies the pole is referred to as a snake. This is done in the snake ceremony.

526 571 [521] The hoop-and-pole ground is as much a meeting place where masculine concerns are discussed and planned as it is a field of play. Here the men come together in easy companionship, free of the inhibitions imposed by the presence of women. It is little wonder that one commentator declared, "The hoop-and-pole ground is like a pool hall." An air of informality and good humor pervades the scene, and much jesting and story-telling are always in progress.

526 534 Often musical instruments, such as the musical bow, are played at this spot:

There is something we do around the hoop-and-pole game. A man takes a bow, just the regular fighting bow, and tightens it up. He puts one end in his mouth and hits the string with an arrow. Men enjoy doing this and are interested in it. They can make a sound like Chiricahua songs. A man can do this anywhere, but you see it mostly at the hoop-and-pole ground when the men are by themselves and enjoying themselves.

534 [526] Another musical instrument, made and played by men, is frequently seen at the hoop-and-pole ground, although it is not limited in use to this place. This is the "wood that sings" or the Apache fiddle,[9] a hollow wooden cylinder about twelve to eighteen inches long with one sinew string stretched over its surface. The bow is approximately the same length and is strung with horsehair. A single peg controls the tension and pitch of the

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[773] the point was not yet decided, they devised this game and played, but still neither could win, for their power was equally strong. The people took it up and still play it, but consider it sacred."

Two other informants who were consulted, however, claimed to know nothing about a relation between the game and its parts and the snake.

[197] [9] It is certain that these "violins" are modeled after stringed instruments introduced into the region by Europeans, but they have been made by the men of this tribe for some time now. One of the oldest members, a skilful maker of these instruments, stated: "We made it from the oldest times. I think it was the Chiricahua's own invention because it was common in my boyhood."